"We'll Keep On Even If We Have to Go to Jail!"

THE MILITANT

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SWP Candidate Asks Unions To Back Alabama Bus Fight

Meeting Shouts Vow to Keep Up Walk for Seats

By William Bundy

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 5 — Tonight I attended one of the bi-weekly meetings of the Montgomery Improvement Association. This is the organization which the Negroes of Montgomery have set up to run the protest movement here against segregation on the buses.

Tonight's meeting was held in the Bethel Baptist Church on Mobile Road in a Negro residential district. It was a warm and humid evening and it had started to rain when I arrived at the church. Though it was an hour before the meeting was to begin the hall was already packed. People crammed the aisles and overflowed off the steps into the muddy paths on the edge of the street. (There are no paved sidewalks in this section of town.) The long lines of parked cars were full of people waiting for the shower to end, and more cars were arriving.

People politely squeezed up and made room as I made my way to a point just inside the doorway. The church was not as large or well furnished as many I had seen in the North, though it was very well kept. I estimated that between two and three thousand people were present though the place was meant to hold much less.

No one was at the speaker's stand yet, although people were seated on the platform. In the middle of the hall a man was half singing the story of his life. The audience kept time with a low rhythmic accompaniment. "Oh, Lord, I've shuffled too long, now I walk for righteousness. I'll walk for 50 years if I've got that many left. . ."

The audience responded now and then with the traditional, "Yeah," "Yes, yes," "I hear you," "Yes, Lord." The humming continued throughout, now soft, now loud.

The man sat down, the humming continued. A woman rose to tell about her child who had come home one day in tears. He had been chased away from play by a policeman, and he asked her why. She had told him it was because only white children can play there, but he didn't understand. The humming rose as the audience responded.

The woman continued: "I broke that child's heart." Her voice grew defiant, "I ain' gon break no more children's heart. Didn't God make all children?"

"Oh yes!" the audience responded with clapping and musical cheers. "We ain' gon break no more children's heart."

The woman sat down. Others rose, now here, now there. Pouring out the story of what segregation means to Negroes, to individual human beings who live under it. They talked of the restrictions on their right to vote, of saying, "yes, sir," and "no, sir," to people who called them "nigger," of the inadequate electric lights in the Negro section of town in contrast to the ample electricity in white neighborhoods.

They told of the small things like getting your shoes full of water coming home at night because pavements stop at the white section; and they told of the big things like having to do all the hard and dirty and tedious work because of lack of other opportunities for Negroes.

And to every speaker there flowed the understanding and sympathy and love of the thousands present. It flowed in the form of humming and musical cheers and religious words, and now and then it welled in great solidarity and strength with "God is with us!" "We are strong."

One woman told of an indignity she had suffered at the hands of a white person. "If one of 'em lays a hand on me again it's gonna be just me and them, that's all, just me and them, all equal!"

The people responded — musical cheers. "No more runnin', all equal."

A young man, moving through

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March 28 Rallies Set From Coast to Coast

By John Thayer

As the Negro people and their supporters pushed ahead with plans for the March 28 nation-wide day of protest against the reign of terror in the South and in solidarity with the Montgomery bus boycotters, the State of Mississippi officially condoned another cold-blooded murder of a Negro.

Mississippi's action fittingly enough took place in the same courtroom which had been the scene of the whitewash of the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till last September. This time the murderer who swaggered out of the courtroom a free man was Elmer O. Kimbell, a crony of Till lynchers Milam and Bryant. He had, in fact borrowed Milam's gun for the killing, used Milam's car and after the murder he had gone to Milam's home.

THREE WITNESSES

His victim was Clinton Melton, a Negro filling station attendant, who by error had filled Kimbell's gas tank rather than putting in only $2.00 worth of gas Kimbell claims he ordered. Three witnesses — the white filling station owner and two Negro workers — testified that Melton was unarmed and had tried to avoid trouble with Kimbell. Nonetheless the jury freed the murderer on grounds of "self-defense."

As Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Negro Mississippi leader, has pointed out, court records show that a white man stands a much greater chance of conviction in Mississippi if he shoots a deer out of season than if he kills a Negro.

In Montgomery, Alabama white-supremacist officials are going ahead with their plans for the trial of 100 leaders of the anti-Jim Crow bus protest under an old anti-labor boycott law. In the face of this persecution the Negro community has responded with redoubled determination to keep the Jim Crow buses empty. Meanwhile every Negro community in the country is planning some form of participation in the national day of protest set for March 28. Almost all Negro churches will hold prayer-protest meetings. In large cities the large halls have been rented for mass meetings.

For example in Los Angeles the Olympic Auditorium, which seats over 10,000 has been taken by Negro organizations in alliance with AFL-CIO unions and other organizations favoring civil rights.

Elsewhere in California demonstrations of solidarity with the Montgomery movement will be held on March 25 in the Winterland Auditorium in San Francisco and the Oakland Auditorium.

In New York, churches in Harlem and the Community Church are engaged in a series of preparatory protest meetings each Sunday till the 28th when the whole movement will culminate in a mass meeting at Manhattan Center.

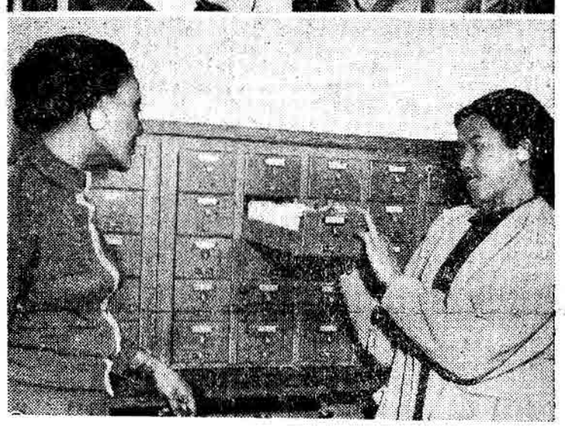
ONE HOUR'S WAGES

In Cleveland an audience of 1,500 heard one of the leaders of the Montgomery struggle, Rev. Roy Bennett, give a first hand account, at a meeting on March 11. **Morris Riger, area director of the CIO Textile Workers Union, was enthusiastically applauded when he said every union man and woman in the Cleveland area should donate an hour's wages to the Montgomery Improvement Association. The audience at the meeting contributed $3,274 to be sent to the boycotters.**

Meetings have been announced for Chicago, Boston, and all major cities in the country. Smaller cities and towns from coast to coast are also announcing plans for meetings, special church services or some form of participation in the day of protest.

Most of the rallies will not only raise voices and prayers in support of the courageous Negro people of Montgomery and demand the freeing of their leaders, but will raise funds for the Montgomery Improvement Association for support of the car pool and the legal expenses of the mass trial.

Autherine Lucy Fights On



Autherine Lucy (below) uses facilities of a small Alabama college with no racial restriction while she presses fight for reinstatement at Alabama U. Expelled from Alabama University Feb. 29 on trumped-up charges, Miss Lucy filed suit last week for readmission next Fall. Above, she is shown in the college dining room (background, right of flowers).

Need $3,000 a Week To Operate Car Pool In Protest Movement

The following statement was issued by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party:

The Montgomery Improvement Association, which is conducting the magnificent protest movement against Jim Crow segregation on the bus lines of Montgomery, Alabama, has issued an urgent appeal for funds.

The money is needed to keep their car pool going.

This pool of approximately 400 cars provides the Negro community of that city with transportation. Several thousand dollars is needed **every week**, to pay for gas, oil and repairs.

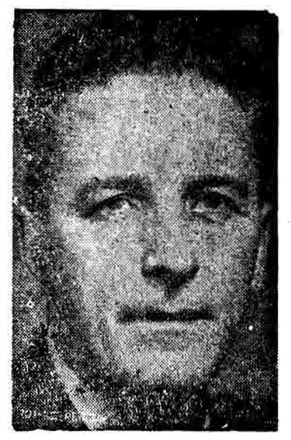
The bulk of this money was raised until recently by the underpaid Negro people of Montgomery through voluntary contributions of their nickels, dimes and dollars. The struggle has now found organized expression throughout the Negro community of the North and West. Some funds have been raised through mass prayer meetings on a nation-wide scale to help win the fight to "ride in freedom."

But the struggle to batter down color segregation on the bus lines of Montgomery is not the concern of the Negro community alone. On the contrary. It is a cause which is vital to all of the working people of this country and especially to the organized labor movement. The inspiring action organized and led by the Montgomery Improvement Association has done more to prepare the ground for the union organization of the open-shop South than anything the leaders of the combined AFL-CIO have done in the past decade.

Not one single Negro in Montgomery, Alabama, should be compelled to walk because of the lack of money to operate their car pool!

The Negro people of Montgomery are now manning the longest picket line in the world. It is the elementary obligation of the entire organized labor movement, regardless of political affiliation, to rally to their fight, which is the fight of all labor.

Every union local, every worker in office, factory or workshop, must make it a personal obligation to take action NOW! This is no time for passing the buck! This is the time to collect it and send it to the Montgomery Improvement Association, care of the Rev. M. L. King, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama.



FARRELL DOBBS

Picket-Line Militancy

Striking workers at Republic Aviation Corp., main plant in Farmingdale, Long Island try to block scab-laden car. The strike over wages began Feb. 29. It involves 12,000 members of the International Association of Machinists. On March 2 another IAM strike featuring mass picketing began at the Fairchild Engine and Aviation Corp. in Bay Shore, Long Island.

Sun. — March 18 — 7:30 p. m.

Meet to Aid Montgomery Bus Protest

Eyewitness Speakers
Just Returned from Alabama
Tom Kerry, Militant Staff Writer
Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro Educator

Militant Forum
116 University Place

Proceeds will go to the Montgomery Improvement Association

Ohio Civil Rights Rally Hears James Kutcher

YOUNGSTOWN, March 9 — A large audience of workers and students attended a Civil Liberties Rally tonight sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. It was held at the Central YMCA to present latest developments in the whole fight for civil rights and the Kutcher case in particular.

James Kutcher, World War II legless veteran, was the principal speaker. He told about his eight-year-old fight to regain his job with the Veterans Administration from which he was fired solely because of his openly avowed membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The party had been arbitrarily listed as "subversive" by the Attorney General. Kutcher's case was argued last month before the Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C.

PENSION FIGHT

Kutcher also reported on his court fight to prevent the Newark Housing Authority from evicting him and his aged parents from a government housing project and about the storm of public indignation which forced the Veterans Administration last January to restore his disability pension. The VA had moved to take away the pension because of his socialist beliefs and affiliations.

Kutcher stressed that the struggle for civil liberties and the Negro struggle for civil rights were interconnected. Both struggles, he showed, aim at guaranteeing democratic rights for the working people of the country.

Professor E. B. Smith discussed the work of the American Civil Liberties Union. "It is the great tradition in America that the nonconformist is safe from persecution for his belief," he said. "Fundamental liberties such as freedom of speech and press must be defended at all costs."

Nate Lee prominent civil rights leader in Youngstown, gave the rally a report of the recent Civil Rights Assembly in Washington, D. C., which he had attended.

Al Shipka, President of the Mahoning County CIO Council, who had been scheduled to speak on "Labor's Stake in the Bill of Rights" could not attend the meeting because of union business out of the city. The CIO Council, however, helped to promote the rally by asking all locals to support it.

After the speeches, there was lively discussion from the floor over "gradualism" in school integration. Most of those who spoke attacked "gradualism" as only another name for a policy of doing nothing to end Jim Crow.

Upon his arrival here two days ago, Kutcher was interviewed by two TV stations. Brief excerpts of the interviews were given on evening newscasts and helped to publicize the Kutcher Case and the Civil Liberties Rally.

Workers and Bureaucrats in the Soviet Union

By M. Stein and J. G. Wright

In the first article of this series we dealt with the basic reason why the Kremlin bureaucracy was forced to repudiate the Stalin cult, namely, the growing mass of hostility to bureaucracy rule which reached the stage of open revolt in the East German workers' uprising of June 1953 and the Vorkuta General Strike of political prisoners of July 1953.

Last week we reported the admissions made at the 20th Congress to the effect that under Stalin the Leninist party had been replaced by an apparatus ruled by one man; that the Stalin cult had supplanted theory, social analysis, party and Soviet history, in brief, the entire field of ideology, as Leon Trotsky had charged years ago. The Soviet bureaucracy now admits in effect that between the workers' democracy of Lenin's day, created by the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the present-day bureaucratic regime there exists an ideological void. The void in ideology is one of the expressions of the social gulf that was created by Stalinism between the bureaucracy and the Soviet masses.

This week we propose to deal with this gulf between the bureaucracy and the Soviet workers as it is mirrored in the proceedings of the 20th Congress.

Khrushchev, the main reporter, warned: "A serious neglect in party-organization work of local party organs is the flagging attention paid to the regulation of party growth, especially as regards the increase of the workers' core in the party" (Izvestia, Feb. 15).

Echoing this warning Suslov, member of Khrushchev's secretariat, said: "It is necessary to note that in the last two years the specific weight of workers and collective farmers accepted into the party has increased in comparison to previous years. But in many party organizations the specific weight of workers and collective farmers accepted into the party remains very low" (Pravda, Feb. 17).

IS NEGLECT THE REASON?

This belated anxiety over the notable scarcity of workers and peasants in CPSU ranks underscores how insecure the bureaucracy feels in its seats of power. Khrushchev speaks of it as "a serious neglect in party-organization work of local party organs." He knows better. But to give the real reason would only underscore the social antagonism between the Soviet masses and the party of the bureaucracy.

Why aren't the workers in the Communist Party? The Soviet working class is not apolitical. On the contrary, it proved itself the most politically class conscious in the world. It has proved capable of the greatest revolutionary vigor. It rose up against Czarist oppression as far back as 1905. Even though defeated in this first attempt, the Russian workers did not take long to recover from this defeat.

Twelve years later in February 1917, they overthrew Czarism, and within nine months of this victory they scored a new and decisive victory. The Russian working class emerged as the first in history to take and hold power in its own name; to abolish capitalist rule and undertake the construction of a socialist order.

The Russian workers had gained their victories through the instrumentality of the Bolshevik party to which they had rallied in great numbers as the party expressing best their needs and interests. In the persons of Lenin and Trotsky the Russian workers advanced a revolutionary leadership of the highest caliber, unmatched in any other country.

The Soviet workers did not suddenly lose interest in politics after they had achieved such singular success along the political road. They did not of their own volition depart from the political arena. They were driven out of politics by a self-seeking bureaucracy which took advantage of the Russian workers' exhaustion following a long civil war to drive it off the political arena.

WORKERS NEED OWN PARTY

The brutality of the Stalin regime, the countless number of revolutionists he had to kill only proves how difficult it was for the bureaucracy to rob the workers of political power. The Soviet workers today feel the need of political organization more than they ever did. They need a party to guide them and lead them in the struggle against the bureaucracy's abuse of power and its privileges, a party to lead them in the struggle for the reconquest of political power from the bureaucracy.

If the Soviet workers felt that the Communist Party was their party, they would have rallied to it as was the case in Lenin's day.

The Soviet working class, today 48 million strong is growing by leaps and bounds, in numbers, in technical skills, in culture and in self-confidence. It is profoundly socialist in its consciousness. It is attached to the ideas, traditions and gains of the 1917 Revolution. The very anxiety of Stalin's successors to pose as "Leninists," restorers of Marxism-Leninism, etc., testifies to the deepest attachment of the Soviet workers to Lenin as the personification of their socialist struggle and aims.

One of the things Stalin's successors hope to achieve by their repudiation of Stalin is to bridge the gulf between themselves and the Soviet workers. The same leader cult which raised the bureaucracy to its present positions of power and privilege, elevating it above the working class, has in the meantime undermined its previous base in the proletariat.

SURPRISE FOR KREMLIN

Th fatal danger to the bureaucracy inherent in the absence of real ties between its regime and the masses, was painfully brought home by the 1953 uprising in East Germany, the unrest in Eastern Europe and the Vorkuta general strike. Neither the party nor the state apparatus with its elaborate spy system had been forewarned of these revolutionary events. They took the bureaucracy completely by surprise, revealing its isolation from the masses as its Achilles Heel. It revealed, on the other hand, that the working class has a life of its own unknown to the bureaucracy. That it has a way of organizing and conducting struggles no matter how big and powerful the secret police. Bureaucratic repressions drive the working class more and more inward and weld its solidarity against the oppressor.

The events of the Summer of 1953 could not be ignored by the Kremlin bureaucrats. Their most urgent need, as they see it, is to try to reconstitute reliable points of support among the Soviet masses. Their repudiation of Stalin comes as a recognition that they cannot maintain themselves in power by means of the party and state apparatus alone. That, too, is the political gist of their current stress of increasing the "specific weight of the workers' core in the party."

The extent to which the bureaucracy is divorced from the Soviet masses is graphically illustrated by the composition of the 20th Congress.

Present at the 20th Congress were 1,355 regular delegates representing 6,795,000 members. Since 1953 a special effort was made to increase the number of worker and peasant delegates. The results are to be found in the reports of the Mandate Commission: "There are present at the Congress 2.7 times more workers, by occupation, and twice as many collective farmers as were present at the 19th Congress in 1952. Of the total num-

(Continued on page 3)

The Daily Worker And the Stalin Cult

By Daniel Roberts

The American Stalinist newspaper, the Daily Worker, has finally broken its silence on the repudiation of the Stalin cult by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On March 12, Joseph Clark opened the discussion by endorsing in effect a statement made by Walter Ulbricht, East German Stalinist leader. Ulbricht had praised Stalin for persecuting the "Trotskyites and Bukharinites" but said Stalin had done "considerable damage" to the Communist Party "when [he] later placed himself above the party and fostered the cult of the individual." Says Clark: "Ulbricht also said, what was implied by the entire 20th congress, that the Soviet Communists no longer consider Stalin one of the 'classics' of Marxism."

Thus American Stalinism has demoted Stalin in conformity with present-day Stalinist policy throughout the world. But Clark knows he cannot leave matters at that. "What we'd like to discuss here," he says, "is how it was that Stalin had played both a positive and negative part in history. . . . We are searching here for an explanation of just one aspect of the criticism made by the Soviet Communists — the abuses in the security system."

Clark's explanation runs as follows: In the course of defending itself against the attacks imperialism launched on the Soviet Union, "stern and vigilant security" was required. Evidently for Clark this included the struggle against "Trotskyites and Bukharinites." However, "This did not mean that the security system could become a power unto itself." Nor does it excuse "exaggeration and misuse of the whole system of security" and "abuses which included the invention of enemies."

For Clark, the Stalin cult arose out of "exaggeration" of the blood purges Stalin conducted against the Trotskyist opposition. Frame-ups ("invention of enemies") began only where the Moscow trials left off according to his reasoning.

This is weasel-worded apologetics designed to cover up for the Kremlin dictators. By repudiating the Stalin cult, Stalin's heirs hope to appease the Soviet working class now insistently demanding economic improvements and political liberties. The dictators want to get rid of the onus of Stalin's crimes but without relinquishing the bureaucratic rule he headed. This rule was consolidated from 1923 to 1928 in the bloody struggle against the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the Bolshevik Party. They do not want to repudiate Stalin's fight against Trotskyism.

The Stalin cult arose as an inevitable counterpart to the struggle against Trotskyism — and not as an "exaggeration," as Clark maintains. On Stalin's part, the fight had nothing to do with defending the Soviet Union from capitalist restoration. It had everything to do with establishing the power of an economically privileged bureaucracy over the Soviet toilers. This meant destroying the revolutionary party of the working class — the Bolshevik Party — and transforming it into an instrument of the bureaucratic caste.

A civil war was required to crush the working class and dispossess it politically. (See article by M. Stein and J. G. Wright on page one.) The civil war took the form of a ruthless purge begun in 1923 against revolutionists organized in the Left Opposition and led by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Revolution. **Stalin's weapons included slander, rewriting of party history, jailings, beatings, frame-up trials, deportations to Siberia, executions and GPU assassinations. The bureaucracy established its position as a ruling caste by enthroning Stalin and his police apparatus. That is how the Stalin cult came into being in the Soviet Union.**

It was extended into every Communist Party of the world by the same bureaucratic methods as in the Soviet Union. "We went overboard [in the U.S.] in defending things like the idea of Stalin as infallible," says Alan Max in the March 13 Daily Worker, and "in opposing any suggestion that civil liberties were not being fully respected in the Soviet Union." He reports being "jolted" by the 20th Congress and "embarrassed" for having defended "certain aspects of life in the Soviet Union which . . . the Soviet Union now says were wrong." "All this would have been avoided . . . if we Marxists [he means Stalinists] had stood more firmly on our own feet on these matters."

Max is silent, however, about the authentic Marxists in the U.S. who did stand firmly on their own feet and denounced the Stalin cult in 1928. These were Communist Party members led by James P. Cannon who declared themselves for the program of the Trotskyist Left Opposition and against the Soviet bureaucracy. (They later established the Socialist Workers Party.) For their courageous stand against Stalinism, they were bureaucratically expelled from the Communist Party, slandered, ostracized and made the targets of goon-squad attacks. That was how the Stalin cult was established in the American C.P.

"Many things bother a person like myself [about the repudiation of Stalin]" says Max. ". . . For the answers to such questions, one must either speculate or await further developments." **Those many members of the American C.P. genuinely bothered by the problem of the now repudiated Stalin cult do not need to speculate or wait. What they need is freedom of discussion in their own party, and that means, in the first place, the right to study the writings of Leon Trotsky and the revolutionists in the U.S. who defend his program.**

. . . Meeting Vows to Keep Up Fight

(Continued from page 1)

the crowd outside the door, asked me, "Are you with the press?"

"Yes, but I'd just as soon stand here."

He insisted, however, and with quick courtesy checked my press card and took me around the building to a small room behind the stage where I was introduced to the other out-of-town visitors.

They were preachers and teachers and reporters and just plain people who had come from as far as Chicago, some bringing donations from organizations. There were only two white reporters besides myself. On the platform was another white face.

After our names and reason for being there had been recorded we were ushered onto the platform. In front of us were thousands of faces. Some were smiling, some were serious, all were attentive and participating.

On the platform beside the guests were many of the leaders of the association. There was the Rev. L. R. Bennet, who is Vice President of the Association, a tall distinguished-looking man. I recognized the Rev. Abernathy from pictures of him I had seen. Another prominent figure was Rosa Parks, a handsome, middle-aged woman whose arrest Dec. 1 for refusing to give up her seat on a bus precipitated the movement.

I also recognized E. D. Nixon, president of the local organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. A lean, tall, dark, raw-boned man, he is an old time civil rights and union fighter in Montgomery. I remembered what one leader had said of him: "We have many fine leaders, but if it hadn't been for E. D. Nixon this movement wouldn't be where it is today."

A cheer rose as Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Association entered. He is a young man, only 27, and but a short time from his Boston education, I was told. In town only since 1954, he is the prominent leader of a powerful and effective movement protesting segregation itself, and this in Montgomery, Alabama — "the heart of Dixie."

"How had this all come about?" I asked myself. "How did a movement like this get started?"

"Welling Up of Grievances"

A white journalist who lives in Montgomery had told me part of the answer. "That December 5 protest wasn't called because of Rosa Parks alone. That was just the last straw. There had been other arrests — and a long history of incidents. For one thing buses here don't have a fixed segregation line like they do in Birmingham. Everything was up to the driver, and I'm telling you, if it had been company policy to be rude, some of those bus drivers couldn't have done worse. Sometimes they'd take a Negro's money and drive off before he walked around to the back door.

"Why one time they even arrested a 13-year-old girl for not giving up her seat. They handcuffed her and took her off to jail.

"I'm told, and not by Negroes either, that some of the drivers even carried guns in their boxes."

E. D. Nixon had filled the answer in further at a press conference I attended. "Some of us had tried to get something done about those buses long before this protest. We tried to talk to the city officials, but they wouldn't even listen. When Mrs. Parks got arrested that was the last straw. We decided to do something about it."

The Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, a white man, supplied a few more details in an article in the March 8 Reporter. "On Saturday Dec. 3 [three days after the arrest and two days before the trial] a number of mimeographed and typed circulars were distributed in the Negro community calling on citizens to stage a one-day protest by not riding the city buses the day of the trial."

Three-quarters of the Negro riders stayed off the buses that Monday, but the judge convicted Mrs. Parks anyway, and fined her $14. She appealed.

That night about 5,000 Negroes attended the protest meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church. Said Rev. Thrasher, " . . . it appears there was a general welling up of grievances in which the specific case of Rosa Parks was all but forgotten."

"A general welling up of grievances." I was seeing it myself in this hall, tonight at a different church, and three months later.

"We Shall Not Be Moved"

I was reminded of a description by Jack Belden of "Speak Bitterness" meetings by Chinese women during the revolution that ended the rule of Chiang Kai-shek. Here the bitterness was voiced in music and religious phrases accompanying the more articulate protest.

The bitterness had welled up and overflowed that night three months ago, the night the Montgomery Improvement Association was born.

Once again E. D. Nixon's words came to mind. "We could have settled this thing long ago if the white leaders had just sat down and talked to us, but after that first day it was too late. We had to go on. Our people just insisted. They voted to go on with the protest until we got something definite, and we organized the association right there on the spot. Rev. King was elected President."

The Rev. King was on the platform now, three months later. He handed a sheet of paper to the chairman, a penciled agenda. I could see the line across the top. It said, "Mass Protest Meeting."

The meeting began officially with a spirited prayer and a reading from the scriptures. The audience responded traditionally.

Short speeches were interspersed with hymns. I don't remember the order or all the names. I jotted down phrases:

"1956 will be our finest hour."

"Lord — take pity on those who may grow discouraged."

"We're growing so big, we need the coliseum—"

Response: "Let's ask for it."

"We'll keep on even if we have to go to jail; why we already been to jail." Singing cheers.

One of the hymns I knew well. I had even sung it on the picket line, though the words had been slightly, and the rhythm much different. "I shall not, I shall not be moved . . . " There was no choir, none was necessary. "I'm on my way to heav'n, I shall not be moved . . . "

It was overpowering. More than two thousand practiced voices singing together and with a cause to sing for. The music rolled and swelled. I started singing myself. A few people smiled. "Just like a tree that's standin' by the water . . . " A flash bulb popped as someone took our picture. "We shall not be moved."

Protest Leader

E. D. NIXON

great, I'm gonna move to Montgomery."

The minister smiled. E. D. Nixon looked serious, as usual.

One speaker looked at the two other white reporters as he told about how the papers had reported the protest leaders driving around in Cadillacs. "Of course Mr. Asbell is too fine a journalist to make a mistake like that on purpose. It's just that he doesn't know how to spell Ford." Laughter. "I make a motion to buy Mr. Asbell a dictionary." Laughter, cheers. The reporters looked nervous.

One speaker said, "I wish the gentlemen of the press would get this . . . There is one thing we in the South deeply resent. And that is that whenever we show some element of self-respect . . . you say somebody from the outside taught us that." His voice rose. "We don't have to have Northerners to tell us to act like human beings. That's what we're doing now!"

"Many whites are with us," said a speaker, and the people cheered.

A minister from Birmingham said, "When you get things straightened out down here you can come on up and help us do it there." "We'll come. We'll be there." Cheers.

He said the Birmingham people were thinking of making a mass pilgrimage to Montgomery. "We figure maybe we'll ride down to the outskirts of town some fine day and all get together and Walk, children, Walk!" There were oohs and ahs. Faces lighted up, and cheers.

The transportation committee made its report. This is one of the two committees in the Association. The other is the financial committee. (Mrs. Ida Mae Cauldwell, financial secretary of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 490 here, is on the financial committee.)

These committees carry on the real work of the Association. The car pool, which transports the entire Negro working population to and from their jobs every day, is a complicated but efficient apparatus. It runs on less than $3,000 a week.

Many of the roughly 90 (no one seems to know the exact number because of confusion of names) indicted as "leaders of a conspiracy to boycott" were not actually in the leadership of the Association but had simply loaned their cars to the pool.

An efficient-looking woman in a dark business suit took the stand to ask for the offering (donations). She is in the insurance business. She said she had received letters from children up North who were worried about her safety. "Come on up here mother, we've only got one mother, you know."

The audience responded, "I get those too, yes me too."

She said, "I sat right down and wrote them that I'm gonna stay right here and fix it so's you don't have to go in the back door when you come down to visit your mother." The crowd cheered.

In general, statements about staying in Montgomery to fight segregation received the loudest response of any.

She said, "We'll never be satisfied with segregation again." And that was the theme of the entire meeting.

I remembered the statement of a young Negro student when I had asked him what would happen if the leaders of the Association were to agree to end the protest. "Oh that would never happen," he had said. "They bring proposals right before the meeting and the people there would never go for that."

"We're Growing Up Fast"

And E. D. Nixon had told the reporters: "I wouldn't want to be the one to make the proposal. We tried that once around Feb. 1 when we filed the suit to challenge the segregation law. We brought in a proposal to go back on the buses and fight it out in the courts. But it was too late for that. One woman jumped up and said, 'I'm gonna keep walkin' until I can sit in them seats I been standin' alongside of for all these years.' Everybody joined in with her and that was the end of that."

"If we got the first come first served rule, I think we could get 'em back on the buses, right away, but I don't know just where we'd go from there. All those threats and bombs and arrests made people awful mad . . . It's too late for goin back."

"We've been children too long, now we're growing up fast," someone said. The crowd cheered — a musical cheer.

The collection speaker made an appeal for NAACP memberships. "Anyone who isn't a member come down Sunday and join . . . You'll need the NAACP the rest of your life . . . They tell us the NAACP has communists in it . . . that's just to scare you off . . . the NAACP doesn't have anything to do with communists." (This was the only time in the entire meeting that either the NAACP or communists were mentioned).

Then the collection began. The people filed through the aisle past a table in front of the stage. There was no confusion in the overcrowded hall. Everyone moved quickly, row by row, in perfect order.

I rose and filed out with the line. Mine was now the only white face. Near the door a large young man stood, his dark face alive. He held out a big hand. I shook it hard, and passed on out the door and started walking back to town.

I was thirsty and wanted a cigarette, but this was a Negro neighborhood, and I didn't know if I could go into one of the small restaurants along the way or not. I didn't take a chance. A prowl car showed and two white cops eyed me suspiciously.

I stepped in a puddle and got my shoe full of water. I stubbed my toe on a rock because there was no street light. I cursed the lack as so many who lived here over the years must have done walking in the other direction. I reached the sidewalks, but it was late. I had to go clear down town before I found an open cafe next to an over-the-road bus depot.

Inside I drank two soda pops and listened briefly to a conversation between two men. "Lord knows I've always liked niggers, I'll be glad when things settle down again. We always got along so well. This is a polite town. I don't know what they're kickin' up such a fuss about."

Outside I stood smoking for a moment. The rain had stopped and the night was clean and beautiful. A tall young Negro in denim pants and khaki shirt approached me. "Please, sir, will you buy me a pack of cigarettes in there? They got none at the depot." I took his money and bought the pack. He bowed slightly as he took it and said, "Thank you, sir." and walked quickly toward the depot.

I turned and walked my last walk down the streets of the polite city of Montgomery, Alabama, and I'm telling you — I cried.

Automation -- "Calling All Jobs"?

By Robert Chester

"With the cooperation of Americans in all walks of life, our standard of living will skyrocket, prices drop, markets expand and the tempo of prosperity accelerate," proclaims the NAM pamphlet on automation entitled "Calling All Jobs."

There is no doubt that industry is riding high. The 1955 year-end analyses indicated it was a peak year in production and profits. Stocks remain at top levels, and many corporations are splitting them up after further accumulated gains.

Huge investments in new plants and equipment have been announced. General Motors, Standard Oil, Ford, and U.S. Steel have billion-dollar programs in the hopper. The magazine Business Week estimated that total expenditures will exceed $33 billions in 1956. With all these bright prospects the NAM predictions, if correct, should be born out by examination of the facts.

What stands out dramatically is the competition between the corporation giants. The speed with which a firm can automate, thus cutting over-all production costs and increasing output, determines how much of the market it can grab. Every advance announced by General Motors was immediately equaled by Ford. The smaller corporations, squeezed by the leaders, struggle desperately to keep up.

The process takes place unevenly. While one automated plant may take over part of the national production of a commodity, the other plants in the chain try to raise their levels by speed-up. Statistics of increased productivity resulting from automation have not been separated from increased productivity resulting from mechanization or speed-up. The figures include one, two or all three factors.

The Federal Reserve Index of Manufactured goods stood at a high of 140 in May, 1955, while total manufacturing employment stood at 12,816,000. Two years previous, in May 1953, when the index stood at 139, almost the same point, manufacturing employment stood at 13,699,000. In two years time 883,000 workers were eliminated from the production lines, while production per worker reportedly increased between 3% to 6%.

The rate of productivity per worker is a yardstick of industrial growth. At the Washington hearings before the Senate-House Subcommittee, Secretary of Labor James Mitchell reported "an annual rate of increase from 1947 to 1953 ranging from 3% by one measure to 3.6% by another." He did not report the changes that have taken place since 1953.

Studies by the Department of Commerce estimate an increase of 4% from 1954 to 1955 while the Federal Reserve Board estimate lists it at 6%. Despite all these variations in figures the trend is clear. Productivity continues to rise at an ever faster rate due, at least in part, to the increasing introduction of automation. Leon Keyserling, economic advisor to former President Truman, even predicts a rate of 5% to 7% in the next few years.

These figures are, of course, the national averages. For individual industries the rate is often higher. At the Washington hearings Otto Pragen, research director of the International Chemical Workers Union reported that chemical output since 1947 rose more than 50% with an increase of workers of only 1.3%. Between the middle of 1953 and the middle of 1955 the steel industry required 70,000 fewer men to produce the same quantity of steel, a cut in manpower of about 15%.

Reports from the auto, electrical, telephone, railroad, mining and other industries showed the same trend. Productivity was rising more rapidly, while employment rose at a much slower rate or declined outright.

BOSSES' ARGUMENTS

In answer, the employers claim that in the past new industries have always made up for the employment declines in the older ones. They cite the fact that boom times are here for the 250 large machine-tool builders, who are now producing automated equipment at a rate exceeding the $3 billion mark annually.

While this industry booms, its larger effect is to displace more workers than before since the products are mainly of the "labor saving" type. Nor does it open new fields of industry as did, for example, the growth of the automobile industry. This effect of automation on new industrial expansion was analyzed by Walter S. Buckingham in the May, 1955 Monthly Labor Review. He concluded: "Automation does not promise to create as much secondary investment as have some earlier developments of technology."

Bureau of Labor statistics show what is happening to the workers driven out of industrial production. They are forced into selling, service or clerical occupations, usually at lower rates of pay, or into the ranks of the unemployed. With the entry of automation into the clerical field it too will see a relative decline.

Thus, while the boom was on in 1955, workers forced out of industries could still find other jobs. With a decline, the effects of automation, mechanization and speed-up will quickly lengthen the unemployment lines.

Automation has had its most rapid advance in the larger industrial establishments. As a result the pressure on many smaller companies becomes murderous. "Small firms," comments the Consumers Report for Oct. 1955, "teeter between going automatic right away . . . at the risk of installing automatic equipment that will in itself become obsolete next year — and waiting to see what happens in this field."

P. B. Wishert of Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Company counsels smaller firms: "A forward looking automation program can enable a small company to cause an upheaval in its competitive field." His advice is to concentrate on a few high volume items.

Many small businesses are going under from the pressure. "Why," asks the Senate Small Business Committee, "in a period characterized by a three shift industrial activity, tremendous sales volume and record making profits do we find such a high rate of small business bankruptcies?"

Automated plants, produce greater profits for the corporations. Ford expects to pay off its automated Cleveland engine plant in three years. General Motors announces over $1 billion profit for 1955, while at the same time it projects a $1 billion program of investment in new plants and equipment. Thus the increased profits from automation serve to hasten more automation, intensifying its effects on employment and allowing the corporations to prepare an anti-union offensive.

Significantly prices have not dropped, but risen, in auto and other industries. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney commented at the CIO Conference on Automation, April 4, 1955: "It has been pointed out that the technology of automation is likely to find its fullest use in the so-called 'administered price' industries where prices are notoriously insensitive to decreases in cost."

We can conclude from this examination that the predictions of the NAM are not being born out. Big Business is on the offensive: the standard of living is not skyrocketing, but displacement of workers is rising instead; prices have not dropped but risen; the tempo of prosperity has speeded up for Big Business but not for the rest of business or for the workers.

Instead of an expanding dynamic economy with a bright future, the basis has been laid for an economic crisis of major proportions. The effect of automation is to speed up all the factors leading to the crisis rather than to counteract them.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Here is a report from **Washington, D.C.**: "Over 1,000 copies of the March 5 Militant, containing the Open Letter to the Civil Rights Assembly, were distributed to the delegates in Washington, D.C. The reception was friendly. Before the mass meeting began, wherever one's eye wandered in the huge auditorium there were outspread Militants. One delegate, after reading the paper, came out to make arrangements to purchase 1,000 copies for distribution in his home town. Others familiar with the paper, particularly trade unionists from the Mid-West, smilingly remarked: 'That paper sure gets around, even down here in Washington.'"

John Tabor, New York: "In recent weeks the newsstands have practically sold out. At a protest prayer meeting on the events in Montgomery, 119 Militants were sold in a half hour by **Ben Haines, Dick Rodriguez and Joe LaCross.**"

From the **Twin Cities:** "Enclosed are 15 subs that we got during the Militant Weekend organized for the express purpose of renewal work. In addition we sold 33 Militants and a number of James Kutcher's books, **The Case of the Legless Veteran,** as well as 80 copies of **Desegregation!** Those who did the work were **Fanny and Bill Carter, Helen Sherman, Ralph and Jack Bring, Winifred Nelson, Paul Pierson, Alice Norris, Larry Andrews, M. Limton, Julia Bysk, Jack Barry and Donald Person.**

The reception to the **Desegration** pamphlet was excellent. Men and women, colored and white, all bought with equal enthusiasm.

From **San Francisco:** "We here are happy to report the sale of 160 pieces of literature at a Negro History Week mass meeting. The top salesmen were **Ruth Aaron** with 48 **Desegregation** pamphlets, **Nick O'Las** with 40 pamphlets and **Marco Thompson** with 13 Militants and six pamphlets. Other salesmen were **Beverly Redman, Bill Knaph, Paul Corbett** and **Frances James.**

Richard Clausen, St. Louis: "Today the weather was wonderful, the Militant was even better than it has been, so I have never found selling it so easy. Please increase our bundle again by five."

Helen Baker, Seattle: "Enclosed is a check to cover our current Militant account. This was made possible by selling out all our papers."

And from **Detroit: "Edie Marshall** and **John Collins** sold 76 copies of the Militant of February 20 and 27 at a mass meeting called by the NAACP to hear the Reverend Abernathy of Montgomery, Ala., tell the story of the heroic struggle of the Negro people of that city. Another eight copies were sold by **Dotty** and **Tom Johnson** at a Ford unit meeting at which Jim Kutcher spoke this morning. Thirty-four copies of **Desegregation!** were sold by **Dotty** and **Al Winters** at a forum on Civil Rights. I am sure we will be able to sell a large number of Militants in the coming weeks on the basis of the great activity the struggle for Negro equality is stirring here."

Asia, Africa -- Montgomery

The Rev. King spoke: "You know whether we want to be or not, we are caught in a great moment of history . . . It has reached the point where you are part of this movement or you are against it . . . It is bigger than Montgomery . . . "

Cheers, response: "We are somebody . . . " Cheers.

"The vast majority of the people of the world are colored . . . " This was acclaimed. "Up until four or five years ago most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the west . . . " He listed the places. "India, China, Africa. Today many are free . . . And the rest are on the road . . . We are part of that great movement . . . " Cheers.

He spoke of the Bandung conference. " . . . and another section of that movement met on a cold December evening in the Hope Street Baptist Church." Cheers.

"We must oppose all exploitation . . . We want no classes and castes . . . We want to see everybody free . . . " Cheers again.

"God isn't just interested in freeing just Negroes. God is interested in freeing all people . . . "

"We must never use our brother as a means but always treat him as an end."

He listed a number of famous Negroes. "Is that why the white man should respect us? Because we gave the world great men? No that's not why. He should respect us because—because God made us both." Wild cheers.

"Each individual is important. The poor uneducated person is an important person. We are important as individuals . . . " Cheers.

"There are several methods to bring about social change. One is damaging, violent revolution . . . We won't use it."

He spoke of passive resistance, of Ghandi and of Christ. "We are using the methods of the son of Galilee . . . his peaceful methods . . . toppled the Roman Empire and split history into AD and BC."

He finished with "We're gonna love everybody. Just gonna stay off the buses!" Laughter, cheers.

A young guest, a minister from Chicago on the platform next to me said, "Boy, that's

STRIKE VOTE AT DODGE

DETROIT, March 10 — A company speed-up drive accompanying the recent drastic layoffs and short work weeks forced workers at Chrysler Corporation's Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck to take a strike vote March 8. The vote was 9,376 to 408 in favor of a strike.

If authorized by the international union the strike will involve the 12,000 members of UAW local 3 who are still employed at Dodge. The rest of the local's 25,000 members are laid off. The plant was shut down several times last week when the company sent entire shifts home because some workers refused to submit to speed-up.

Joseph Cheal, Local 3 president, said the dispute is over just what is a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay." He said management is seeking a 17% average increase in output without an increase in the number of workers.

In asking for the strike vote the local's executive board said: "Lay off half of the men and then make the rest do the same amount of work is the way Chrysler wants to modernize and automate its plants. Dodge workers are sick and tired of being continually hounded by bosses. They are sick and tired of being sent home on the slightest pretext. They are sick and tired of short work weeks and miserable welfare pay checks. . . The management idea of bargaining is that the union agree with whatever the management wants. What the management wants is that we have a union in name only.

"We will not surrender! We will fight to protect our seniority and our rights won during bitter strike battles. We will fight to protect our contract and our union. Back your union; vote strike!"

Speed-up drives and accompanying contract violations by the auto corporations are general in Detroit now. Members of UAW local 15 at GM's Fleetwood plant here last week voted 86% in favor of a strike to make the company live up to seniority agreements. The plant employes 5,000.

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Negro Unionists Are Speaking Out

Under prodding of Negro union leaders, mainly from Southern ports, the recent independent International Longshoremen's Association convention representing 70,000 members, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for Federal action to end "the oppression of our colored brothers and sisters in the South." While the diplomatically worded resolution was a timid step in the right direction, the really significant fact is that Negro union leaders are becoming more and more outspoken in their demand that the unions take action in support of their struggle against color discrimination and oppression.

Negro unionists have every right to expect their unions to defend the civil and democratic rights of all — regardless of skin color. To whom else shall they look — upon whom else can they depend to give effective organized expression to their most basic needs? Certainly not upon the mealy-mouthed capitalist politicians of whatever stripe who preach "toleration" and "patience" in the face of intolerable injustice! Certainly not upon the two major political parties which are infested and dominated by Jim Crow advocates, practitioners and apologists! Lacking an independent Labor Party to champion their cause Negro unionists are compelled to seek a redress of their grievances through the powerful union movement. And organized labor would be derelict in its duty if it failed to respond.

The ILA resolution notes that the present wave of race terror and hatred in the South is being fanned by the White Citizens Council. What is not emphasized is that the terror is not only directed against the Negro people but against any white workers who dare to solidarize with their colored brother and sister unionists. The murderous WCC are not only rabidly Jim Crow but anti-semitic and anti-labor. Their aim is to preserve the system of color segregation and discrimination as the foundation upon which rests the open-shop structure of the "Right to Work" South.

For the unions to act immediately and decisively in this situation is a matter of self-preservation. Any talk of organizing the South without a correct, uncompromising and militant policy of all-out union support to the heroic struggle of the Southern Negro workers for their elementary rights can be nothing but a monstrous hoax.

The ILA resolution, like many other union resolutions, expresses a good sentiment. However, the time has come for action. The struggle of the Montgomery, Ala., Negroes demands immediate and generous financial support by the unions. It would be a good practice for the union officials to look through their recent file of good resolutions on civil rights and write out a substantial check for every resolution on file and send it to the Montgomery fighters. That would do more to win support for unionism among a decisive section of the workers in the South than any number of good resolutions.

Colonial Uprisings and Civil Rights

"Up until four or five years ago most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West. . . . Today many are free. . . . And the rest are on the road. . . . We are part of that great movement."

This is how Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, explained the significance of the heroic protest movement against Jim Crow buses waged by the entire Negro community of Montgomery, Ala. He spoke, March 5, to a bi-weekly mass meeting of the Association — the organization conducting the boycott — and his speech was enthusiastically cheered. (See William Bundy's story on page one.)

We in the U.S. have become accustomed to watching from afar how the impact of the colonial struggle has thrown first France, then England in crisis. Now something similar is happening in this country. The powerful surge of the Negro people to win their democratic rights — a movement inspired by the successes of the colonial struggles, as Rev. King testified — is shaking the equilibrium of U.S. politics. And this at a time when the Big Business rulers of the country had hopes that things would keep going their way indefinitely.

Just consider: Economic prosperity continues. The labor bureaucrats are in full control in the unions, stifling militancy. Labor has no party of its own. The top labor leaders have bound labor to the Democratic Party, and there is no important movement in the ranks demanding that labor strike out now on an independent political road.

Yet increasingly in the last few weeks, the civil rights issue has plunged the Democratic Party into crisis. It has done so in the same way that, for instance, the Algerian question has plunged the French government into crisis. Indeed, the very same issue of the N. Y. Times (March 11) which reports that the French in North Africa are "harassed . . . in their search for ways to reconcile the demands of the Arabs for independence and of the French North Africans for the status quo," declares, "Democrats worried by civil rights issue — presidential candidates are already facing dilemma of reconciling the views of North and South."

As the Negro movement gains in militancy, tens of thousands of Negro unionists are pressing for union aid to the embattled Negroes in the South. This puts the labor leaders, too, right on the spot. They are fearful to give aid lest this disrupt their alliance with the Democratic Party. Yet they cannot ignore the pressure of such a large section of the rank and file.

However, of even greater significance than what the Negro struggle does to the Democratic Party and the Democratic-labor coalition, is the impact of a movement such as the Montgomery anti-segregation protest on the thinking of a large section of militant white workers.

By lining these militants up on the side of civil rights, the Negro struggle forces them to sharpen their working-class consciousness. It forces them to draw the conclusion — even before they themselves have to break with the Democratic party because of their own demands — that the Democrats are as much an agency of Big Business as the Republicans.

Support for the civil rights struggle will unite the white workers with the Negro workers as they jointly gain understanding of the political tasks that confront them. And this will speed the preparation of white and Negro militants alike for the momentous showdown between labor and capital that must inevitably lead to a Labor Party in this country.

What Did Civil Rights Assembly Achieve?

By George Lavan

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Civil Rights Assembly, held here last week, was an impressive gathering. That does not mean that it was effective — for the sad truth is that it accomplished very little in bringing civil rights legislation any closer or in doing anything about the situation in the South. It was impressive because of its size and because of the caliber of its rank-and-file delegates.

One had only to look at and talk with the delegates from the deep South and the colored men and women from the North, most of them union members, to realize that these were people of ability and determination, inspired with a new sense of self-confidence. There is no gradualism in their outlook. They are raring to go in a fight to the finish with Jim Crow. The current example of the Montgomery protest action against segregated buses has made them prouder of their people in the South than ever before and they are highly conscious that they have powerful allies in the colored peoples of Asia and Africa.

So a gathering of some 2,000 such people could not help but be impressive. Needless to say an assembly of ten or a hundred times as many would have been much more impressive than mere multiplication would indicate. But the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the allied organizations of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights did not want such a large gathering. The principal reason appears to be that they were afraid it might get out of their control.

DELEGATES SCREENED

In addition to emphasizing in its call for the Assembly that large numbers were not wanted, the NAACP leadership conjured up a "red scare." It warned against "Communist-front and left-wing" elements trying to take over the rally and urged local screening of all delegates. Since there is no evidence to back up their charge, it is more probable that the NAACP leaders were trying to create an atmosphere unfavorable for any delegates who might be tempted to get up and make proposals different from those prepared beforehand by the Assembly leaders.

When the civil rights delegates got to Washington they were treated to an investigation. This was directed particularly against the NAACP Youth Councils and the large delegations sent by the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union — the union with the best record of anti-Jim Crow struggle in the South.

Most Packinghouse delegates spent the first of their three days in Washington cooling their heels in the waiting room while they were individually screened. They were barred from all sessions 'till they had been pronounced clean. Needless to say, these delegates bitterly resented the treatment and later held a caucus at which they passed a motion of protest and empowered a delegation to visit the NAACP in New York and get an explanation.

The screening was either ineffective or in reality not aimed at "Communist-front and left-wing" elements. Of some 90 Packinghouse delegates only four delegates were finally refused admittance. These were three women office workers of the union — the technicality was that as office workers they belonged to the office workers union and not to the UPWA which had sent them. The fourth was a UPWA District Director who was kept out for "contempt of court" — he refused to answer the screening board members' questions — but tried to ask them questions. Moreover, a three-man delegation from the national headquarters of the CIO Furniture Workers Union was denied admittance on the grounds that their union was not affiliated with the Leadership Conference. It is said that some youth delegates were screened out, but exact figures were not available.

SEN. SPARKMAN (D-Ala.) was one of 100 Southern Congressmen signing "manifesto," March 11, denouncing 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court rulings outlawing school segregation. Sparkman was Adlai Stevenson's running mate in 1952 presidential election campaign. Sen. Fullbright (D-Ark.), another Southern liberal, was co-sponsor of the "manifesto."

At the opening session, Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary informed the delegates that they could not present or vote on any resolutions. All they would be allowed to do was to work for the eight-point lobbying program that had been prepared for them by the Assembly leaders. The names of the chairmen of the state and district delegations were then read off.

This provoked considerable resentment among the trade unionists, particularly the auto workers, who are used to organizational democracy and don't like to be told they can't make or vote on motions or elect chairmen. The importance of these union delegations may be seen in the case of Michigan. This state's delegation consisted of 600 delegates (one-quarter of the whole Assembly), almost all auto workers. The union delegations were overwhelmingly Negro.

A SLAP IN THE FACE

The eight-point program presented by the Assembly leaders was designed to keep the movement within "safe" — that is, ineffective—channels. They were demands for much-needed legislation but legislation which cannot be passed in this Congress—as the Assembly leaders themselves were to admit from time to time. The roadblock to passage is the Southern Democratic stranglehold on Congress. This was deplored but no official proposal was made on how to break it. Indeed, Congress had dealt the Civil Rights Assembly a contemptuous slap in the face by electing the unspeakable racist, Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, head of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee, which controls all civil rights bills, the very day before the civil rights delegates began arriving in Washington.

Despite this the delegates were sent to visit their Senators without any special blast for those liberal "friends" of the Negro people and of labor who had failed to lift a finger against Eastland's confirmation.

Similarly with the filibuster. Senate Rule 22, which permits filibustering civil rights legislation to death (if it ever gets as far as the floor), was reenacted at the beginning of this Congress without a word being said against it. The last Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington had lobbied almost exclusively for a fight against this rule on Congress' opening day — the only day it can be changed. The same liberal "friends" who were praised for their promises at this Assembly, had previously promised to fight for a change of Senate Rule 22. They sold out — didn't even introduce a motion to change it. Yet not one word of reproach to them was included in the official instructions for the delegations that were to visit the promise-breaking Senators.

SOFT ON POWELL CLAUSE

Finally the Assembly leaders played down the Powell Amendment — the one measure in Congress that will show who is really for desegregation and who is for gradualism, because as an amendment it will have to be voted on.

While in general terms the eight-point program of the Assembly endorsed the principle of the Powell Amendment, it did so vaguely. And only those delegations really on the ball went beyond the general instructions and asked their representatives specifically whether they would vote for the Powell Amendment.

Indeed, in the reports on the visits with the Congressmen, there was covering up on this issue. For example, Roy Reuther, UAW leader and chairman of the Michigan delegation, reported to the Assembly that Senator McNamara was 100% for the civil rights program. Yet McNamara had straddled on the Powell Amendment by telling the Michigan delegates that he would be for it if it didn't hurt the chances of the passage of the school aid bill. It is precisely on the cowardly grounds that it will cause the Southerners to vote against and thereby defeat the school aid bill, that most Northern liberals in Congress oppose the Powell Amendment.

FEDERAL TROOPS ISSUE

Demands that could really put the heat on the politicians were raised only negatively or against the will of those running the show. For example, Charles A. Zimmerman, a vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who briefed the Assembly for its visits to the Capitol Hill, said that some people advocated sending federal troops to Mississippi to enforce the Constitution but that "we" don't believe in using force and violence to fight violence. Nevertheless some delegations asked their Senator point-blank where they stood on sending troops. This happened at least in the cases of the Ohio and Illinois delegations. Similarly with the Powell Amendment — though the leadership played it down, a number of delegations emphasized it in their lobbying activity.

As the Assembly progressed, it became apparent that the Americans for Democratic Action was playing an unusually large role in the running of the affair. Moreover, there appeared to be some disagreement between the ADA and the NAACP leadership. The difference was not over the amount of pressure to be generated by the Assembly — both were in agreement in keeping the pressure within "safe" limits — but over where the pressure should be directed. The NAACP leaders wanted to keep what pressure was generated on Congress — which is Democratic controlled. The ADA, apparently made desperate by Eisenhower's recent announcement that he would run again, wanted to take some of the pressure off the Democrats by diverting it to the Eisenhower administration.

ADA SHIELDS DEMOCRATS

This came out in the form of an ADAers taking the floor with motions for delegations to visit the Attorney General and President Eisenhower. Wilkins spoke against the Attorney General proposal saying it would sidetrack the Assembly from its original purpose and that nothing would result as it had been tried many times. He acceded to the Eisenhower proposal saying, however, it would take time to arrange. He got around his first day's ruling that no motions could be made or voted by the delegates by saying that it appeared from the applause that such was the consensus of the Assembly.

Apparently the ADA is so fearful of Eisenhower's candidacy that it has decided to give up, as an expensive luxury, the pressuring of Stevenson it had been doing, along with the NAACP, in the Democratic primary fights. Now ADA feels every vote will be needed for the Democrats and that civil rights pressure should be diverted from the Democrats as much as possible lest it do them harm at election time.

The NAACP leaders apparently were not prepared to make such a quick turn. Moreover, they are under the direct pressure of the Negro masses who want to see some action on civil rights. Wilkins repeatedly emphasized that the civil rights issue could not be kept out of the 1956 campaign (as Stevenson hopes it can).

On the heels of the flurry made by the ADA proposals, an auto worker delegate got the floor and inquired whether the leadership had considered the next step since nothing tangible was going to come out of the lobbying. Specifically, he asked if a March on Washington, the mere threat of which had been so successful in winning the wartime FEPC, was under consideration. Wilkins evaded this question by replying: "I'm only one-tenth of a strategist but I know enough to know you don't announce your plans from the housetops in advance." This brought a laugh from the audience and Wilkins quickly recognized another delegate and then adjourned the session. Afterwards the delegate was overheard to say, "Perhaps they're planning a secret March on Washington. Hope it isn't so secret that no one realizes when it's taking place."

World Events

TEN THOUSAND ALGERIAN WORKERS demonstrated in Paris, March 9, in support of the Independence revolution in their homeland. Their plan was to parade before the National Assembly, where the Mollet government was demanding full powers to put down the revolt. However, cops and troops were hurled against the demonstrators, and 2,700 were arrested. Throughout France the day was marked by a surprise work-stoppage of Algerian workers that coincided with a Moslem prayer day. Several hundred thousand Algerians live in the Paris region alone. Most of the demonstrators were "young poorly dressed workers," reports Henry Giniger in the March 10 N. Y. Times. They were led "by a young Algerian woman brandishing the green and white nationalist flag" and "formed a silent procession six to eight abreast."

* * *

ALGERIANS in the French army are deserting continuously to the Algerian National Liberation Army fighting in the mountains. They take rifle and ammunition with them. Amid the French forces in Algeria are some 45,000 Algerian Moslem troops. Reporting a recent incident at Sebabna the March 3 Economist reports, "These Moslem soldiers in the midst of battle joined hands with the guerrillas, fired on their French fellow soldiers and departed with arms and ammunition. . . . The sergeant who led Algerian troops to the other side had served in Indo-China." According to Michael Clark's report in the March 1 N. Y. Times, "French security forces have not yet been able to wrest the initiative from bands of nationalist rebels infesting Algeria's western frontier." French imperialism has over 200,000 troops in Algeria.

* * *

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY DEPUTIES in the National Assembly voted, March 13, to give Socialist Premier Guy Mollet full military powers to try to crush the Algerian independence revolution. The Mollet plan calls for increasing French troops and stepping up military operations on the one hand, while also trying to bribe a section of Algerians with economic "reforms." The Stalinist deputies voted for the entire Mollet program.

* * *

AFRICAN SLAVE TRAFFIC is increasing in Saudi Arabia according to Charles W. Greenidge, secretary of the Antislavery and Aborigines Protection Society, whose report on African slave trade will be presented to the UN in April. French Government sources admit that slaves are hunted in the French "protectorate" of Cameroons, French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. Arabian slavers posing as religious leaders organize pilgrimages to Mecca, then turn the pilgrims over to Saudi Arabian police who sell them as slaves. Some rich "legitimate" pilgrims sell their servants while in Arabia to make expenses. U.S. and British oil companies who control Arabia, pay royalties only to the decadent Arabian rulers who buy slaves — hence the increase in the trade recently. Popular commodities in this country, whose government is recognized by the U.S. State Dept. as part of the "free world," are: girls under 15 at $550 to $1,000 per head, men under 40 at $400 per head, and older women at $105 per head. Greenidge's report estimates there are 500,000 slaves in Arabia King Saud, agent of the U.S. oil interests, is named as Saudi Arabia's foremost patron of slavery.

* * *

THE STALIN CULT — repudiated last month at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — has been further undermined by the following moves reported since the close of the Congress. (1) March 5 was the third anniversary of the deaths of Stalin and of composer Serge Prokofieff. In the Soviet Union Prokofieff's memory was honored, but no official notice was taken of the anniversary as far Stalin was concerned. (2) Stalin's biography has disappeared from a newsstand at the Metropole Hotel and a Stalin-sponsored "Short Course" of the Soviet Communist Party history is now unavailable. (3) Correspondents on a trip with American churchmen visiting the Tretyakov Art Gallery (Moscow's largest) report that about 25 portraits of Stalin hanging in the gallery before the 20th Congress have all been removed. (4) The Soviet Communist Party is carrying out a campaign to restore old Bolsheviks to official favor. Most of these were victims of Stalin's purges. Pravda, the party organ, printed a letter, March 11, from 137 old members who participated in the 1905 revolution. The list included G.I. Teodorovich, denounced in the Stalin "Short Course" as a "Trotskyite" and M. M. Skrypnik, implicated in the 1937 purge trial of Marshall Tukhachevsky.

...Workers and Bureaucrats in the USSR

(Continued from page 1)

ber of the regular delegates at the Congress 438 are directly engaged in production, of these 251 persons work in industry and transport; and 187 work in agriculture." (Pravda Feb. 17, 1956.)

As against less than one-third of the delegates engaged in industry and agriculture, more than one-half, 703 delegates represented the party and government functionaries. "Present at the Congress are 506 party workers, 177 Soviet [government] workers, 12 trade-union workers, and 8 youth workers." (Same source).

Out of every 100 delegates at the 20th Congress only 18 represented industry and transport as against 52 delegates who represented the party and state apparatus. (Of the remainder 15 delegates out of every 100 represented agriculture and another 15 delegates were divided among "trade and also cultural workers, and representatives of party organizations in the Soviet Army and Navy.")

The Mandate Commission gave no breakdown of the actual composition of the 18% of the delegates "directly engaged in industry and transport." Included in this category were members of the administrative and technical personnel.

From the official figures it therefore follows that the number of "workers by occupation" remained rather small at the 20th Congress, even though there were three times as many as had attended the 19th Congress.

BUREAUCRATS' MODEL

It can be stated with certainty that the genuine voice of the Soviet workers was not heard at the 20th Congress. Among the delegates selected to take the floor was N. M. Kuzmin a lathe operator at the machine building factory Krasni Proletari (Red Worker) in Moscow. He shied away from touching on any of the political issues before the body.

The burden of his speech was his record in production: "25 yearly quotas during the last Five-Year Plan" and his pledge to maintain the same pace over the next five years. He coupled this with a few cautious criticisms of "the organizational shortcomings in the operation of the factory and its supply system." He was "stormily applauded" as a model for the Soviet workers (Pravda Feb. 20).

In giving him an ovation the assembled bureaucrats may have momentarily felt close to the mass of the Soviet workers but Delegate Kuzmin represented only a thin layer of the Soviet labor aristocracy, the record-breakers and pacesetters. His speech, as well as his presence, only served to underscore the isolation of the bureaucracy from the mass of the workers.

The isolation of the bureaucracy is further aggravated by the reluctance of party members to associate themselves directly with the process of production. Khrushchev said: "It is abnormal that in a number of branches of the national economy a significant section of Communists, who work in these branches, occupy their time with activities which have no direct connection with the decisive sectors of production. For example, in the coal mining enterprises there are about 90,000 Communists, but only 38,000 work in the mines. In the rural districts there live over three million party members and candidates but less than half of them work directly in the collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms."

REASON FOR GAP

In this impulsion of bureaucrats away from production is expressed the very nature of the caste as a parasitic formation.

The bureaucracy occupies its commanding position in the Soviet Union not by virtue of any specific role in the process of production but by robbing the working class of the power it had conquered for itself in the 1917 Revolution. It is this act of political expropriation which has created the gulf between the robbers and those who have been robbed. This is the source of the suspicion and conflict between the workers and the bureaucracy. Communist party members closest to the workers are the first to feel their hostility. It is no wonder that the party members shy away from contact with the workers.

There is an additional reason why the bureaucracy finds it so difficult to keep party members in production. Even when it does recruit members engaged directly in industry or agriculture, it recruits primarily careerist elements to whom a party card is a key to advancement, cushy jobs and privileges.

The Kremlin bureaucracy counts on the repudiation of the Stalin cult to give it entry into the working class. It wants to be accepted, to be popular. The workers for their part will, no doubt accept the repudiation of the tyrant with jubilation. But it will not accept this concession as a gift from the bureaucracy. The repudiation of the Stalin cult will be accepted as a payment for the indignity and abuse the workers suffer under the bureaucratic regime.

The Russian workers know this was not a voluntary payment. That it has been wrung from the bureaucracy. The Russian workers will not stop short of the complete reconquest of political power.

Food prices at the retail level are less than 2% under a year ago while the wholesale food price index is down 12% in the same period, according to the Dept. of Agriculture and the Wall Street Publication, Dun and Bradstreet.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1956 — NUMBER 12

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

What Is A Boycott

The 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., who are in a struggle against Jim Crow on the buses of that city, regard their movement as a deep protest against segregation in all its forms. By their specific method of action in the bus battle they have raised the whole question of boycott as a tactic in the Negro struggle.

A boycott, according to **Webster's Collegiate Dictionary,** is a "combining to withhold, or to prevent others from holding, business or social relations with a tradesman, employer, etc."

To boycott means "to subject to a boycott" or "to refrain from the use of; keep aloof from."

The **Encyclopaedia Britannica** tells us a little more about the word put into recent newspaper headlines by the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama.

Boycott, says this authority is "the refusal and incitement to refusal to have commercial or social dealings with any one on whom it is wished to bring pressure."

"The word was first used in Ireland," the **Encyclopaedia** tells us, "and was derived from the name of Capt. Charles Cunningham Boycott (1832-97), agent for the estates of the earl of Erne in County Mayo. For refusing in 1880 to receive rents at figures fixed by the tenants, Captain Boycott's life was threatened, his servants were compelled to leave him, his fences torn down, his letters intercepted and his food supplies interfered with. It took a force of 900 soldiers to protect the Ulster Orangemen who succeeded finally in getting in his crops. Boycotting was an essential part of the Irish nationalist plan of campaign, and was dealt with under the Crimes act of 1887. The term soon came into common use and was speedily adopted into many foreign languages."

But the couragous Irish nationalist struggles for independence and freedom from oppression by absentee landlordism is only part of the glorious tradition inherited by the Montgomery protest movement.

The boycott of British goods, especially tea, was one of the most important methods of mobilizing the people in the first American revolution. The word "boycott" would not be heard for another 115 years, but in 1765 nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York to organize the protest against "taxation without representation." Within a few months British imports in the colonies reached their lowest point in thirty years.

Early in its history the labor movement began to support unions on strike by urging the public not to patronize sellers of non-union products. It was the Case of the Danbury Hatters' Union (1903-1915) that made the term "boycott" famous throughout the U.S. This was the case in which the organized employers used the courts to call a boycott by labor a crime under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which had been passed to restrain abuses of Big Business monopoly.

In the Thirties the boycott was introduced as a weapon in the Negro struggle for equality. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" was what it was called. In Negro communities throughout the North and West colored workers organized picket lines and campaigns to stop patronage of stores which refused to hire Negroes.

After the Supreme Court ruling of May, 1954, declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, those seeking immediate enforcement of the law discovered how slow, costly, unreliable and demoralizing legal action alone can be. In Hillsboro, Ohio, a group of Negro parents decided to boycott Jim Crow. They refused to send their children to the segregated Lincoln School, tutoring them in their own "Freedom School" until they are admitted to integrated public schools.

On Dec. 5, 1955, the term, boycott, gained new significance: 50,000 Negroes began the demonstration of its power as a weapon "to refrain from the use of" and "keep aloof from" the Jim Crow bus system of Montgomery, Alabama.

The power of the boycott in Montgomery — just as in colonial America, in Ireland in 1880, in trade union struggles throughout labor's history — lies in the fact that it is based on mass solidarity against oppression and on willingness to sacrifice some material thing or convenience for a principle.

Down Payment on a House

By Ben Haines

Ever since his discharge from the army following the Korean war, Bill has been a production worker at a General Motors assembly plant. During that time he married, and now has a wife and infant son to support. When you add to this financial burden the purchase on the installment plan of various household items and a car, you begin to wonder how he was able to save enough for a down payment on a house. But Bill did just that.

By working at odd jobs he was able to pick up outside the plant, skimping on personal "luxuries," and collecting his veteran's bonus for overseas service, he accumulated the necessary amount.

He was in the process of looking for a suitable house in which to invest his savings when something happened which brought his plans to an abrupt halt.

Rumors of a cutback in auto production caused him to reflect that maybe he'd better hold on to his savings. When more than a thousand workers were laid off in his plant he felt he'd made a wise decision — especially when he learned about the problems of a home "owner" that were circulated around the plant.

He found out that a down payment on a house did not confer ownership, that there were such things as taxes, mortgage payments, repairs, etc.

He heard the story about the young woman worker who was visiting a sick relative in her suburban housing development home. On the wall in the living room was a sign saying, "Bless Our Mortgaged Home." When she commented with some amusement on this sign, a neighbor who had stopped by said cynically, "Oh that's nothing unusual. Every house in the neighborhood has one of those!"

The other day a worker was kidding Bill. "Hey Bill, when are you moving into your new place?"

Bill turned to the worker next to him and said, "I'm not in too much of a hurry to get a house now. Who knows I might get caught in the next layoff. I'm going to save up enough money so that if I get laid off I can meet the mortgage payments for at least six months or a year."

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

On the Soviet Union and Stalinism

"Is it normal that having lived almost 40 years after October we do not have either a brief or a complete Marxist-Leninist textbook on the history of the October Revolution and the Soviet state, which would show, without varnishing, not only the facade but the whole many-sided life of our Soviet Fatherland?" Mikoyan, First Deputy Prime Minister, at 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

What accounts for this self-admitted bankruptcy of the Kremlin bureaucracy? The answer can be found in the writings on the subjects listed by Mikoyan that the Stalinist bureaucrats have suppressed — namely, the works of Leon Trotsky.

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Victim of Company Greed

Fellow strikers carry Mrs. Dottie Wilson from strike scene at Farmingdale, Long Island plant of Republic Aviation Corp., after she was knocked down by a scab's car. The company cleared over $14.5 million in net profits last year, but refuses to grant a 19c. increase to 12,000 workers, members of the International Association of Machinists.

Company Helped By Westinghouse Mediation Plan

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, March 12 — The proposal of a federal mediation board to end the strike of 55,000 workers against the Westinghouse Corporation was firmly rejected by the striking unions this week. Both the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, and the United Electrical Workers, independent, have remained solid in the five-month strike.

The proposal attempts to saddle the strikers with a five-year contract. It refuses to reinstate immediately 36 strikers discharged for militant activity. It offers no effective safeguards against company efforts to introduce a back-breaking speed-up in its plants through a time-study clause.

The strikers are particularly aroused over the time-study item, for they fear it would result in fresh victimizations of those who resisted or were unable to meet the new speed-up requirements.

Th Westinghouse corporation's hasty acceptance of the mediation board's proposal, after months of arrogant refusal to mediate, is a clear indication that it is biased in the company's favor. There can be no question that the IUE strike committee was completely justified in rejecting the proposal.

However, this action by the government seriously cuts across the mounting support and sympathy for the striking unions.

Even the liberal New York Post which had "sharply criticised" Westinghouse's previous refusal to mediate has editorially denounced the IUE. They call the union "dead wrong in rejecting the 'package' settlement. . ."

BOSS PROPAGANDA

In addition, the labor movement has been bombarded by Big Business propaganda on TV, radio and in the capitalist dailies, denouncing the strikers' refusal to accept the government's mediation proposal. The effect has been confusion and uncertainty on the part of the rank and file of the labor movement.

At a General Motors assembly plant in this area, for example, plant gate collections fell off sharply after the news of the striker's rejection of the government proposal. General sentiment was expressed in comments as "I don't know. These people won't even listen to the government."

This confusion emboldened right-wing elements in the plant to openly denounce the strikers.

A known McCarthyite harrassed the women strike-fund collectors by shouting at them: "Why don't you go back to work? Yeah. Go back to work — and send your husband back too."

He scurried away when a militant GM worker challenged him: "What do you mean, go back to work? They're not going back until they get a decent contract and we're going to help them every way we can!"

Another rank and filer emptied his change into the collection pail and said jokingly, "When are you people going to end this thing? You're getting me broke."

COULD END QUICKLY

The truth of the matter is that the strike could be ended quickly and favorably for the Westinghouse strikers only if the full weight of the labor movement is rallied behind them.

Otherwise it is bound to be a tough battle, for it is clear that the capitalist-controlled government, radio, press and TV are lined up solidly behind the wealthy Westinghouse Corporation and its union-busting attack.

Gwilym A. Price, president of Westinghouse, told 650 top utility executives of the Southeastern Electric Exchange, meeting at Swank Boca Raton, Florida, March 12, that support for the company from industry was building up and "sooner or later they [the strikers] must give in." He pointed to the report of the mediation board as a favorable development.

Financial contributions must be supplemented. It is time for the labor officialdom to bring the direct support of the mighty AFL-CIO to the IUE and UE picket lines and speed a favorable settlement by launching a nation-wide protest against Westinghouse's union-busting drive.

Seven billion dollars will be handed out as interest on the national debt this year according to the President's budget message. Less than .004% (four thousandths of one per cent) will go to individuals who bought U.S. savings bonds. Banks, corporations, and insurance companies get the rest.

Delaware Valley Unions Rally to Support of UE

LESTER, Pa., March 9 — In a spirited demonstration of labor solidarity, 3,000 workers, representing more than 25 unions in the Delaware Valley area, overflowed the Columbus Circle auditorium in Lester, Pa., to protest the jailing of 26 Westinghouse strike leaders and back local union 107, United Electrical Workers, in its 147-day-old strike.

Judge Henry G. Sweney of Delaware County fined the union leaders $27,000 on March 7 in contempt of court for violating an injunction against picketing brought by the company. Rather than exhaust their depleted treasury and deprive the strikers' families of desperately needed benefits, the union leaders went to jail. Judge Sweney admitted that he could only punish unions and workers under existing law which did not provide the means of coercing the company.

REAL SOLIDARITY

Although the United Electrical Workers Union is independent, having been expelled from the CIO in 1949 for allegedly being under "Communist domination," all the unions in the area are backing the strike. Even though James Carey, president of the International United Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO has waged constant warfare against the UE, IUE locals have come out in support of local 107.

The mass meeting was organized and sponsored by the Delaware County Joint Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Representatives from the IUE, auto, steelworkers, carpenters, oil workers, transport workers, shipyard workers, textile workers, communications workers and other unions from the Philadelphia, New Jersey and Wilmington, Delaware areas were on the platform.

A State Representative, who is also an IUE member, revealed that an anti-injunction law, which he introduced and passed in the House, has been bottled up for months in the State Senate. He also revealed that Westinghouse and the Pennsylvania Railroad exercise a great deal of pressure in Harrisburg, and that it was Westinghouse, after the 1946 strikes, that was responsible in the main for taking unemployment benefits away from strikers in Pennsylvania.

James Matles, UE leader, caught the spirit of the meeting when he pointed out that if Westinghouse is permitted to cut wages 20% in the Lester plant and also break down the conditions that workers built up over many years of struggle, then this would mark the beginning of a real onslaught against the labor movement as a whole.

Other speakers expressed their admiration for the militant leadership and ranks of local 107 which, in the past, never failed to help other locals in their struggles. They reiterated the theme of the meeting: "If picketing is a crime, you may be next."

A four-point resolution was unanimously adopted by the assembled unionists: release of the imprisoned leaders; rescind the $27,000 fine; united labor support, moral and financial, to the strike; and, a blast against the "vicious union-busting acts carried out against local 107 by the Delaware County Court at the behest of the Westinghouse Corporation."

Financial support for local 107 is badly needed. Many unions have adopted families of the imprisoned leaders for the duration of their imprisonment.

The Campaign to Get "The Southerner"

By George Lavan

When Don West and the Church of God of the Union Assembly started publishing The Southerner early in 1955, the paper met with an immediate favorable response. Southerners of labor and anti-racist views were delighted to see such a paper being printed in the Deep South. Within a year it had some 5,000 Southern subscribers. Around the Dalton, Ga., area it was sold on the counters of grocery stores. Supporters of the paper took bundles for sale and distribution.

The paper's line was militantly pro-union. It championed civil liberties, making the national witch hunt a main issue. At the same time it did everything it could to encourage inter-racial solidarity and to break down Jim Crow prejudices. West featured such stories as an inter-racial congregation of the church in Kentucky and the harmonious relations within it; its services; how the Negro worker in a textile mill in South Carolina had early been 100% solid for the union drive and how the great majority of white workers in the plant had recognized this and insisted that in the contract the Negro workers benefit. Moreover, there was a great deal of general education against racism, as well as articles on the reactionary roots of anti-Semitism and the hard lot of the Cherokee Indians in nearby Tennessee.

The great upsurge of Southern labor manifested in the telephone and railroad strikes last year and increasing sentiment for unions in the Dalton area made the pro-labor coverage of The Southerner far from abstract education. Rather it soon became an organizing instrument in the mills.

The situation in Dalton's unorganized chenille industry became so hot by mid-summer that the CIO Textile Workers Union sent in a crew of organizers.

UNION-BUSTING DRIVE

The mill owners' counterattack was then launched. Wages were increased seven and eight cents above the absolute legal minimum of 75 cents an hour. Next one of the big mills circulated a questionnaire demanding to know to what church each employe belonged, who their friends in the plant were, etc. Those answering Church of God of the Union Assembly, were fired.

Another big mill followed up by firing all its Church of God employes. Protests to the NLRB and to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights availed nothing. **Open, unabashed firing of workers for their religious affiliation showed how far the chenille mill owners were prepared to go.**

The two newspapers of Dalton (both owned and edited by the same men) made no mention of the religious firings though the story was carried in many papers throughout the country. Instead they devoted their energies and a large part of their front pages and editorial columns for the next six months to attacking Don West, editor of the Southerner.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN

They started off by accusing West of being "subversive." Reports about him going back as far as 20 years from the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee's files was printed. These were passed off on the reader as being an unimpeachable source — while in fact they are about as trustworthy as the Hearst papers.

Similar material about Aubrey Williams, former New Deal official and well-known Alabama liberal, and Dr. Alva Taylor, 80-year-old former professor of Social Ethics at Vanderbilt University, was printed. West had secured the names of both Aubrey Williams, a friend, and Dr. Taylor, his old college professor, for the masthead of The Southerner as contributing editors.

From the opening blast the mill owners' newspapers in Dalton did not cease to scream about West. The local veterans organizations sprang into action. The VFW called a meeting on "undesirable characters" in the community—devoted to West. It had the drafter of Georgia's new anti-Communist law, which provides penalties up to 20 years, or be held in contempt. He decided not to answer such questions and before the grand jury cited the Fifth Amendment when the questions came around to politics, unions or friends.

Meanwhile the small strike was being smashed. Fake bombings of the lawns of management personnel were used as the excuse to bring in state troopers for scab-herding work. This was done over considerable local protest, not only of the Church of God and the union, but of other elements in Dalton, including a Baptist minister. A citizens' delegation from the chenille center went to Atlanta to ask Governor Griffin to withdraw the troopers, who had not been requested by the local authorities. But to no avail. The connections of the mill owners and the local newspapers with the corrupt, racist Talmadge-Griffin machine kept the troopers there and eventually the strike was broken.

In the course of breaking it the county prosecutor attempted a frame-up of the leader of the CIO textile drive and eight strike leaders, but a jury would not convict them.

ATTACK CONTINUES

Bundy returned to Dalton on his way back from the American Legion Convention in Miami, where he had scored a personal victory by passage of a resolution condemning UNESCO as un-American. He addressed a public meeting, jointly sponsored by the American Legion and the VFW, at which West, The Southerner and the union were denounced. This speech was later broadcast several times on the local radio.

A follow-up was the mass mailing to Dalton workers of a racist, anti-union paper and a radio series of broadcasts by a professional labor baiter. The CIO and West were denounced as "Communists," "Negrophiles," "mongrelizers," etc.

To the steadily mounting campaign of the mill owners' press, the agitation of the Legion and VFW, the record-breaking duration of the grand-jury investigation, now was added a new ingredient, borrowed from the arsenal of the White Citizens Councils, an economic squeeze on the pro-labor church.

(Second of a series.)

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